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SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/)

When Theory Has Been Mastered by the Masses 1

Strengthen the Party Concept - by Ch'ang Hsüeh-hsin 15

Recalling a Few Things About Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih - by Yeh Po-lo 19

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Page

Read An Old "Notice" - by Chi Ch'ang-hua 25

Political Economy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat - by Kung Hsiao-wen 30

Commodity--An Autobiography - by Ching Ch'ih 34

Correspondence on Bourgeois Right (Continued) 42

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Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China periodicals.

When Theory Has Been Mastered by the Masses

- Notes on study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 6, June 18, 1975)

In the past few days the temperature in the steel refining workshops of the iron and steel mills has been rising drastically, with happy tidings coming one after the other. Equally soaring has been the workers' enthusiasm in studying revolutionary theories. In Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill, a mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, rolling forward like molten steel, is developing on an unprecedented scale, wave upon wave, in a penetrating and sustained manner.

After Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory was made public, it has aroused strong response among the cadres and the rank and file in Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill. "Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This must be made known to the whole nation." People's enthusiasm for study rises, so does their zeal for work, when they combine the study of revolutionary theory with the great task of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Both the cadres and the masses eagerly go over, word by word and sentence by sentence, Chairman Mao's important instruction and the quotations from the teachers of the revolution concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are studying the relevant Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings and the important articles in national newspapers and journals. Workers theoretical contingents that performed great merit in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius join hands with the worker masses in deepening the mass movement to study theory step by step throughout the plant, in a variety of forms such as lectures, guidance in study, investigation, exhibition, study classes, discussion meetings and experience-exchange meetings. Thousands of study classes and discussion meetings and experience-exchange meetings, both big and small, have been held in the plant over the past months. In March, many workshops, on the basis of extensive study and discussion, further stirred up a new upsurge in study by fixing a dozen special topics for discussion. According to these topics, the workers have read seriously, conducted investigation and research, and held discussion in an effort to arrive at a real understanding of the question of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie from various aspects and on various issues both in theory and practice. In order to clarify one problem, some groups often had to study a number of articles and carried on discussion till mid-night. The workers said: You can't learn from Tachai by studying comfortably, nor can you change the outlook by going about your work light-heartedly, and this is also true with the study of theory. Whoever is afraid of exerting effort will have no way to find the truth.

By studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the masses of Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill have further recognized the great historical tasks of the proletariat. "Let's study revolutionary

theories, be the masters of the enterprise, and fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through the grassroots unit!" -- this is presently the fighting slogan of the vast masses of workers. "Once the correct ideas representing the advanced class are mastered by the masses, they will turn into a material force for changing society and the world." The mass movement to study theory in Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill has increasingly demonstrated its huge force, though it has merely begun. People have generally reported: Through study, we have seen things more clearly and become more conscious of the need to carry out the Party's basic line; and with the mutual relationship between people further improved, they have displayed higher zeal for work. Fighting in unity, cadres and the masses of workers have forcefully propelled the development of production. In May, the output of steel and steel products of this mill both exceeded the state targets, and the highest ever monthly output of steel from electric furnaces was recorded. A lively situation of flying leap in revolution and production appeared.

Strive To Be a Man with Consciousness

"Be a man with consciousness." This is an important understanding derived by the cadres of Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill from their study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It began with the study and discussion of leadership.

At the 1st Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao stated: "It seems that it won't do not to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging by my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories -- I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them -- leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people among those in charge of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among Party branch secretaries. But they were following that line of Liu Shao-ch'i -- simply resorting to material incentives, putting profit in command and, instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth."

How should we now understand this statement made by Chairman Mao? Two kinds of different opinions emerged from the discussion at the No. 8 workshop.

One kind of opinion held: Chairman Mao made this statement during the great cultural revolution, but now conditions have changed, and after the great cultural revolution the dictatorship of the proletariat has never been so consolidated as it is today.

The other kind of opinion: Although Chairman Mao made this statement during the great cultural revolution, it still has practical significance now and throughout the period of transition.

After a full day's debate, no consensus was reached. Those comrades who clung to the former kind of opinion even said: "Were we to believe that this statement applies now, would we not negate the achievements of the great cultural revolution?"

How should we look at this question?

The cadres and the masses of workers in No. 8 workshop resolved to clarify it first on the theoretical plane. They read the original works, checked the reference material, and seriously studied the theses of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao concerning class struggle in the historical period of socialism as well as Marxist materialist dialectics. Some comrades at the discussion meeting analyzed it in detail from different angles. It was gradually recognized: After the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is necessary to see not only the basic fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat is "unprecedentedly consolidated" but also the existing problem that our foundation is "not solid." Would we negate the achievements of the great cultural revolution in this way? No. Quite the contrary. Seeing these two aspects is in order to enable us to continue to solve problems in this respect and thus to further consolidate the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution, to further expand the socialist economic foundation and to make the dictatorship of the proletariat still more consolidated. Some comrades said: "Seeing 'unprecedentedly consolidated' increases our confidence; seeing 'not solid' points to the need to continue the revolution. We should constantly remain vigilant as to which class holds the leadership of the enterprise, whether in form or in reality. We should constantly think about whether our work conforms to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Only thus can we continue to consolidate the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In order to further clarify this question on the basis of linking theory with practice, they again conducted discussion in light of the mill's actual conditions. In this respect, the cadres of Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill have a lot of personal experience.

The cadres, particularly those of Party general branches and branches in workshops, mostly come from families of workers and other laboring people. In the old society each of them had a sad story to tell. They have simple class feelings toward Chairman Mao and the Communist Party and a strong desire to boost iron and steel output. However, before the great cultural revolution, under the interference of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, they put profit in command and promoted material incentives. They "believe only in Marshal Chao /god of wealth/, and not proletarian politics in command." They committed a great deal of mistakes in respect to the orientation and line for the operation of the enterprise. After the great cultural revolution, with Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line criticized and particularly through the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the cadres have considerably enhanced their consciousness of the need to implement the Party's basic line and to persist in putting proletarian politics in command. However, some comrades, when confronted with difficulties in work, may still resort to things that had been criticized.

The cadres of No. 12 workshop recalled the following incident: In 1973, the workshop was to produce a batch of high-speed steel urgently needed by the state. Since the rolling of high-speed steel was harder than that of carbon steel, the workshop leadership, fearing that the workers would not work and being forbidden to hand out bonuses, devised a method of awarding steel: "each ton of high-speed steel rolled would be counted as ten tons produced." Thus, a shift which planned to produce 150 tons stopped at 65 tons of high-speed steel. As a result, a strange phenomenon appeared in the workshop: while every shift overfulfilled its target, deliveries to the state were often behind schedule. To get the job of rolling high-speed steel, workers of the preceding shift and workers of the succeeding shift often argued with each other heatedly. The workers said: "Awarding steel makes people lose their style." After the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius was initiated, this system was abolished, and ideo-political education was stepped up to explain the situation and the task. The output of high-speed steel continued to rise. During the current study, a cadre of the workshop's Party general branch said with feeling: "After the great cultural revolution we have banished material incentives and revisionist rules which stifle the initiative of the workers. I myself have been greatly educated. But in the ideological sense, the old influence still exists. If we do not achieve a real understanding of this problem on the theoretical plane, we may still do wrong things when trouble is stirred up by the enemy." Some comrades said: "Chairman Mao's statement tells us that if bad people hold power, we would of course lose leadership. But when good people hold power, we may also cause the proletariat to lose leadership if the line followed is not correct. Therefore, as cadres we should never rest content with what we have done in work, in the economic field, while allowing ourselves to be muddle-headed on the question of line. To be people with consciousness, we must persist in studying revolutionary theories untiringly and strive to raise our Marxist-Leninist level."

As workshop cadres were hotly debating the question of leadership, the worker masses of No. 2 and No. 8 workshops also carried out discussion of it at their shift discussion meetings. At first, some comrades of the mechanics section of No. 8 workshop said: "As the word implies, leadership means the power to lead. A common saying goes, 'A thousand people beat gongs, but the first one who hits the gong fixes the tone.' 'In a factory we have group leaders; in the state we have the central authorities to take care of important affairs.' We the masses are not concerned about this." Others said: "Leadership is a seal of command, a chop. But we masses only follow the rules. How can we talk about holding leadership?"

Many comrades took exception to these opinions. A comrade of the workers theory group recalled one incident that happened in the workshop during the great cultural revolution: Once, the workshop cadres were prepared to dismantle a ring-shape furnace not in use, and to spend 200,000 yuan on building a new heating furnace. Learning this, the worker comrades held that this was not in accordance with the spirit of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results, so they proposed to convert the ring-shape furnace instead. At first, some cadres said to the workers: "Who is listened to, you or me?" The workers answered:

"Neither. Whoever says the right thing should be listened to. We should act on opinions, no matter who put them forward, which conform to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line." Then, after several discussions, views were unified, and the cadres and workers together had this furnace converted at the cost of only 50,000 yuan.

As this incident was familiar to everyone, the meeting instantly became animated. Some workers said: "Leadership must not be judged by the chop alone; it must be judged by the line as well. We should promote the spirit of running the house as masters, actively participate in enterprise management, and help the cadres to follow the correct line, and we shall have leadership." Some said: "For leadership to be in the hands of the masses of workers does not mean that we should heed only the opinions of the workers and not those of the cadres. We should of course positively criticize the decisions of the cadres that do not conform to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and help them correct their mistakes in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. But if their decisions conform to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we workers should support them wholeheartedly and do everything to insure their execution so as to facilitate the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This is also the way to correctly exercise the leadership of the working class. If we do not consciously promote the spirit of masters, we will lose the glorious power given us by Chairman Mao and forget the historical mission of the proletariat." In the course of study and discussion, the workers also studied the following instruction given by Lenin: "The proletariat is revolutionary only when it realizes and puts into practice the idea of leadership." The workers said: "We cannot be merely satisfied with doing the general jobs of workers. We must be revolutionaries, workers with consciousness."

Now, in Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill both cadres and the masses of workers are trying to be people with consciousness in order to consolidate the leadership of the proletariat. Discussion on the question of leadership in an enterprise has helped many cadres see that leadership in the hands of the Marxists is identical with leadership in the hands of the worker masses. Socialism is the cause of the masses of the people themselves. A genuine Marxist always believes in the masses, respects and relies on them. Therefore, today, whether the leaders of an enterprise are Marxists should be judged by whether the Marxist-Leninist level of the workers there has been further raised through the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, whether the workers' position as masters and sense of responsibility have been strengthened, and whether their socialist enthusiasm has been brought into full play. As the cadres of this mill have begun to clarify this question in theory, they have achieved a flying leap in their consciousness of relying on the masses. Both the mill's Party committee and many workshop Party organizations have called special meetings to discuss the question of how to fully trust and rely on the masses so that leadership is in the hands of Marxist-Leninists and the worker masses. The No. 5 workshop of this mill used to produce about 2,000 tons of flat steel in the first half of every year in the past. This year, after it was given its full quota, it was required to produce an additional 1,000 tons. At first, some cadres of the workshop felt this was difficult to do and

dared not take the order. When the workers, who have raised their consciousness through the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, learned that this batch of flat steel was to be used to help a Third World country to make farm implements, they said: "This is a political task. However difficult it may be, it must be fulfilled." The task was increased by 50 percent, with 35 specifications. Almost every shift had to change specifications. The difficulties were indeed tremendous. However, the workers, taking the stance of masters, worked out solutions with the cadres. They said: "Every shift has to change specifications, and every shift must strive to achieve high output." As a result, in only ten days they completed the task of producing 3,000 tons of flat steel, raising the efficiency by 50 percent compared with previous years.

Each Doing His Best To Contribute

How to handle and restrict bourgeois right on the question of distribution? The masses of workers of Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill, while studying theory, drew a clear distinction between two kinds of society and two kinds of wage systems, but they did not entangle themselves with the question of wages.

The worker comrades of No. 7 workshop, when studying how to restrict bourgeois right in distribution, said: "We must not bargain wearing the dark glasses of bourgeois right, or else we would regard ourselves as commodities for exchange of equivalents." They said: Capitalists in the old society treated the workers' labor power as a commodity to be sold and bought, and we workers also felt that doing work was to make money to buy our meals. Now, the capitalist system of exploitation has been abolished, but such traditional concepts still exist. Sometimes we called a hammer or a drill as "tool for making a living," and described working hard as "selling our power." When our children were allocated jobs, we said they began to "make money." Some even talked about such things as "work according to pay" and exchange at equal values. This shows that in our heads there are still traditional concepts and mercenary concepts. Unless these old concepts are smashed, bourgeois right cannot be restricted. The debate got hotter and hotter, and it was finally agreed that the question of "distribution according to work" must be looked at dialectically. While admitting that "distributing according to work" is unavoidable in socialist society, Marxists always stress "from each according to his ability" and promote the communist spirit of labor. They said: When studying the restriction of bourgeois right on the question of distribution, we must smash the mercenary concepts and must not entangle ourselves with the amount of pay; instead, we should contribute as much as we can, that is, "from each according to his ability."

"Don't bother about how much you get paid, but do your best to contribute" -- this slogan was spread quickly. The truck group of Team B of this workshop had nine trucks with 15 drivers. In the past some of them, taking an incorrect attitude toward the question of distribution according to work, were always concerned about how much work they did. They had the idea of "working according to pay," that is, "how much work I do depends on how much I get paid." They had three fears: One, people

of the previous shift might turn over to them late, so they would get off their shift late; second, they might have to do more work if their colleagues took more sick leave; and three, they might be assigned to a place where it was filthy and the loads were heavy. As a result, for some time in the past the turn-around rate of trucks was low. But since they studied Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and, in light of realities, discussed how to restrict bourgeois right on the question of distribution, they have smashed the mercenary concepts and determined to break away from "the narrow vision of being unwilling to work half an hour more or receive a penny less than others." Instead of bothering about small advantages, they now do their best in achieving a high turn-around rate of vehicles. Some truck drivers have come down from their cabin and helped with the transportation of steel. The lively situation in which "everyone studies theory and works selflessly without bothering about pay" has appeared in other workshops, too.

Once the idea "from each according to his ability" is mastered by the masses, the vast socialist enthusiasm latent among the masses will spurt out like a geyser. It not only makes people do their duties fast and well, but also inspires them to be concerned about the whole, care for others and do more within their capabilities. However, the overly minute division of work and the system of gradation caused by this old division of work left over from the old society are hindering the further perfection of the socialist inter-relationships among men. Take, for example, steel refining by electric furnaces. There used to be many grades, with workers of the lowest grade capable of only filling the ladle and removing the slag. The "inferior" must obey the "superior." The system of gradation was very strict. These taboos and regulations were broken and swept away during the great cultural revolution, but the force of old habits remains. For instance, a worker who did not do so well was ordered by a cadre to do the work of a lower grade as a kind of "punishment." Thus, when some workers finished their "own work" and had nothing else to do, they were unwilling to help the "inferior" to do work, for they felt this was something inglorious for them to do. Between the furnaces "each sweeps the snow at his own doorsteps."

How can we break through the "narrow vision" caused by the concept of gradation engendered by division of work and the overly minute division of work, and do our best for the socialist cause? This question was first enthusiastically debated in No. 1 workshop. There, everyone, displaying the spirit of assiduous study, read a dozen Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's relevant writings. They sorted out more than a hundred quotations from the teachers of the revolution concerning questions of division of work and gradation. In light of realities, they held meetings in their shifts, work sections and the workshop to talk about their experiences in study. Some said: Marx and Engels pointed out, "The different stages in the development of division of work are also represented by different forms of ownership." Today, "China being a socialist countr[illegible]," the division of work among men in the course of production is in principle different from that in the old society. However, since socialist society emerges from the old

society, on the question of division of work there are inevitably traditional traces of the old society, and to a serious extent bourgeois right exists in the inter-relationships among men. And this we must restrict in the same way as we strive to go beyond the narrow vision of bourgeois right and promote the communist spirit in dealing with the principle of distribution according to work. Some said: "Under given conditions, the inter-relationships among men may play a decisive role in the system of ownership. We must raise our understanding and be promoters in perfecting the socialist inter-relationships on the high plane of consolidating the system of whole-people ownership."

As study goes deeper, one's thinking also improves. Discussion throughout the mill on restriction of bourgeois right in respect to men's inter-relationships and distribution has brought a radical change in the spiritual features of men. Said the workers: "Unless we break the mercenary concept and discredit the idea of being concerned solely about pay, we cannot establish the spirit of masters. Unless we break the concept of private ownership and discredit departmentalism, the 'Dragon River style' cannot be set up." Consciously everyone of them smashed the concepts of bourgeois right. Under such slogans as "although we differ in work, we are all masters" and "think about the whole and do everything for it, urgently," they saw the greater objective while keeping to their posts, and did the best they could to contribute outside their duties. In the battle to produce more steel in order to strengthen the material basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the various workshops, departments, teams and sections in the mill have gone all out to help and cooperate with one another. Everyone tries to make it easier for everyone else to work. Many workshops have organized youth shock teams and sent them to wherever they are needed. The mechanics themselves set up a "barefoot doctors team" and rush to carry out repairs where mechanical trouble occurs. Such a communist spirit of cooperation emerging from men's inter-relationships, glittering like sparks, has forcefully promoted iron and steel production. A production line in the mill, under the care of the transportation department, carries hot steel molds from No. 2 workshop to No. 7 workshop. In the past, due to mutual delay, the hot steel became cold steel. Through the study of theory and proceeding from the whole, everybody concerned did his best to improve the inter-relationships, promote the Dragon River style, and raise the temperature of the ovens which carry the hot steel ingots generally by a hundred degrees. At no extra cost, the output of steel molds can be increased by more than 10,000 tons, while 5,000 tons of coal can be saved.

Be Erosion-Resistant, Conscious Fighters

It was mid-night. But in the office of the Party branch of No. 9 workshop the lights were still on. The comrades of the leading groups of two committees /Party and revolutionary committees/ were having a meeting. The topic: "How to consciously resist erosion by bourgeois ideology."

At the beginning, some comrades invariably felt that since they came from poor peasant families and began to work as a small child and remembered what the Party had done to them, how could they blow up the "bourgeois" wind? Others said that since their unit was small and cadres

were few, and since "sitting in the office, we can hear the humming of the machine and, though separated by a door, we are still with the masses," they could not be said to have any privileges. However, when they further studied Chairman Mao's relevant instructions they deepened their discussion in light of realities. A comrade said: Although we are a small unit, the influence of bourgeois ideology will still come to "find" us. They cited a number of examples of erosion by bourgeois ideology and raised their understanding. They admitted that they were often shocked to find the seriousness of things which were previously considered trivial and of no consequence when they analyzed them on the plane of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "The rusting of steel products begins with a small spot. So, in checking the 'bourgeois' wind and transforming our world outlook, we must find out the ideological 'rusty spot' like we examine a steel product, and prevent it from growing. Only thus can we get rid of things that can lead to revisionism."

Now, in Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill, through studying theory people link their conscious resistance to erosion by bourgeois ideology and effort to transform their world outlook with the great struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and dig away the soil breeding capitalism.

Lenin said: Socialism "is a period of struggle between decaying capitalism and growing communism." To hasten the death of capitalism, it is necessary to energetically foster and promote communist factors, to check the "bourgeois" wind with new communist ideas and practices, and to eradicate the old capitalist ideas and concepts from all positions and corners. Since the theory was studied, many workshops in the mill have regarded this as a matter of prime importance. The functional Party branch of No. 2 workshop organizes the comrades of the workers theory group to compile and write short stories on how teachers of the revolution and proletarian heroes promoted the communist spirit and smashed bourgeois traditional concepts, totalling dozens of pieces including "Lenin Shared the Weal and Woe with the Masses," "Chairman Mao Shared a Pot of Rice with Fighters," "Norman Bethune Donated Blood" and "Tung Ts'un-jui Laid Down His Life in Blowing Up a Pillbox." Communist education is conducted among the masses in various forms such as lectures and special bulletins. The No. 4 workshop gathered advanced examples of communist factors and held an exhibition on "studying theory, resisting erosion, and establishing a new style." In the mill, the Party committee summed up the advanced deeds of Comrade Chao Ju-en, an old worker and secretary of the Party general branch of No. 1 Electric Furnace Workshop who laid down his life in the line of duty, and called on all Party members, cadres and the masses to learn from his communist spirit.

Comrade Chao Ju-en was 43 this year. In 1958 he was transferred to Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill where he worked as an ordinary worker. Later, he was admitted into the Party and became a cadre. He had always slept in the office of the workshop. In 1969, during the great cultural revolution he was injured in the course of work when his

leg was fractured and was set in a cast. Yet he refused to go home to take a rest. He said: "I am a cadre. I can't leave the first line!" In the day time, with the help of a stick, he carried out inspection in his work section, before the furnaces, and talked with the workers. At night, he slept by the side of a telephone. During the two months or more he was recovering from his injury, he fought and toiled with the masses every day. Comrade Chao placed very strict demands on himself. In his diary he wrote: "In the past we won political power by hard struggle; from now on we must preserve political power still through hard struggle." Even now,his family is still living in an old straw hut. Once, when his children complained about this,he said: "The laboring people of the old society could not afford to live in such a house!" Once, a friend went to see him and said to him: "Old Chao, you are the head of a workshop. Can't you get some material to repair the house? Let me help you." Old Chao replied: "I won't do such a thing!" On a number of occasions his comrades and organization tried to talk him into moving into a flat in the workers new village, and once had even completed the form for him, and all he had to do was to sign his name to it. However, he said: "A straw hut can help us foster the style of hard struggle and strengthen the idea of continuing the revolution." In the ordinary times, a family of seven slept on boards placed on benches; they did not have a decent bed. A quilt he had was bought when he was an apprentice and was pretty worn now. Yet he did not want to throw it away. On New Year's Day every year, he would bring it out and show it to his children, teaching them a class lesson. Several times over the past years, his children asked to buy a large wardrobe for their clothes. He turned down their request, saying: "He who is after material comfort is liable to degenerate politically." And he used the money saved to buy a lot of Marxist-Leninist works and reference books.

Comrade Chao was a good cadre loved and respected by the workers, who called him "a bosom friend." He never put on airs even when he was an "official." He persisted in taking part in labor and was extremely concerned about the masses. On April 24, when he was taking part in labor in the workshop, a flat car carrying steel ingots was derailed and transportation was interrupted. Production would be seriously affected. To overcome this mechanical trouble was a piece of dangerous work. Old Chao went over to handle the switch of the flat car. A steel ingot suddenly fell from the car and fatally injured him.

Many cadres and workers in the mill were deeply saddened by the death of Comrade Chao Ju-en. One after another they expressed their determination to learn from Comrade Chao's communist spirit, consciously resist erosion by bourgeois ideology, forever maintain and promote the features of the proletariat make a complete break with traditional concepts, and dedicate themselves to the communist cause.

All-out effort to promote the communist factors among the broad masses in Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill is having the effect of tremendously inspiring changes in the customs and habits, the breaking of the old and the building of the new. "Study theory, resist erosion, and establish a new style" is now the conscious action of the masses. With people consciously rising up to resist "bourgeois" wind and making demands

on themselves and transforming their world outlook by the standard of proletarian advanced ideas, new people and new deeds have appeared endlessly. Once, members of the staff of the mess hall of No. 2 workshop were told by the workers theoretical contingent a story in "Lenin Shared the Weal and Woe with the Masses of the People": When the October Revolution emerged victorious, Lenin, like the Soviet people, lived a harsh life. At that time, each person was given only one-eighth of a pound of bread a day. Once, an attendant got more bread than usual and happily presented it to Lenin. When Lenin found out the truth, he used a knife and cut off the extra portion and said to the attendant seriously: "Take this back, and don't do it again."

When they heard this story, they were emotionally aroused for some time. They recalled that not long ago the mess hall received a batch of dates. Some comrades, taking advantage of their position, bought them for their families. After hearing this story about Lenin, Wang Ch'un-ken, head of shift A thought: If the great teacher under such difficult conditions still asked the attendant to return the extra portion of bread and worked for the people heart and soul, how could we use our position to give privileges to ourselves? Under his influence, the comrades of the whole squad happily returned to the mess hall the dates they had bought. It was precisely in such a way that many worker comrades make strict demands on themselves. They recognize that "the workers were never separated by a Chinese Wall from the old society," and that "we are building while still standing on the soil of capitalist society, combating all those weaknesses and shortcomings with which the working people are also affected and which tend to drag the proletariat down." They said: "We must see not only the scars left on our bodies by the exploiting classes but also the mud marks of the old society. We can better hold the seal of power only when we do not forget our scars and wash the mud marks clean."

Fully Dedicated to the Iron and Steel Cause of the Mother Country

"Only by deepening the study can we speed up the production of iron and steel!" The mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat has profoundly changed the spiritual features of cadres and the masses, greatly arousing their revolutionary spirit and continually bringing about a new face in the iron and steel production of Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill.

Chairman Mao says: "One of the basic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to strive to develop the socialist economy." The masses of workers, having studied this teaching of Chairman Mao's, recognized the relationship between the development of the socialist economy and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have worked with still higher revolutionary zeal after seeing that steel is needed by the state, industry, agriculture, all trades and occupations. They said proudly: "Let's study revolutionary theory, take the Tach'ing road, fully dedicat ourselves to the iron and steel cause of the mother country, and do better still to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat!" For the past few days meetings to

take oaths to "study revolutionary theory and promote iron and steel production" have been held everywhere in the mill. From the workshops, where molten steel is charging forward like torrents, reports of old records shattered and new records set keep pouring out. Let's see how the battle to produce steel was conducted in No. 2 workshop.

The battle was going on intensely, when suddenly a mishap struck. Just when a furnace was to be charged with electricity, "bang," the electrode rod that was inserted into the body of the furnace broke. The furnace, which had been howling, went "dumb." Flames shot out from around the cover of the furnace, and the whole workshop was filled with smoke....What to do? If the electrode rod was not replaced promptly, the entire heat of steel would be wasted and production would be affected.

"Comrades, charge!" While shouting, Chu Chung-hsin, who was in charge of No. 9 furnace, dashed to the top of the furnace with a temperature of several hundred degrees, holding the broken electrode rod in both hands and starting to work tensely.

"It's dangerous there, Little Chu!" The comrades on the platform were shouting anxiously.

Little Chu was almost suffocated by the hot current, his clothes smoking. Big beads of sweat dropped from his face.

"Little Chu, you're getting burned!"

"Come down. We'll go up!"

"Don't bother about me. Bring me a new electrode rod, quick...." Gritting his teeth, Little Chu did not retreat half a step. With the quality characteristic of a proletarian fighter, he fought with the heat wave stubbornly. The flames were tempering the hero; the steel was red, but the heart was redder.

In this way, together with the workers operating the furnace, Little Chu promptly made the repair through violent struggle and changed to a new electrode rod. The dumb furnace started howling again. The workshop was overwhelmed with cheers. That day, it reported a new output record: 1,364 tons, the highest daily output ever recorded. Since late May, this workshop, which has done fairly well in the study of theory, has created the highest records not only in respect to daily output, output by a single furnace, and output by a shift but also in respect to length of service of a furnace and other targets regarding the operation of the furnace.

Armed with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the iron and steel workers have not only become more energetic but also have become clearer about the goal of production. In Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill the masses proposed: While doing everything possible to boost output, it is essential to put proletarian politics in command, criticize the tendency to put output value and tonnage in command, pay

attention to quality and variety, and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in an all-round manner.

The No. 8 workshop is the only large-type forging workshop in the mill. It is charged with the task of forging for various workshops of the mill and for other fraternal mills. Over half of the varieties and specifications of steel products in the entire mill are produced by this workshop. Its workload is very heavy indeed. As everyone knows, it is easy to forge large pieces and achieve high tonnage. But it is difficult to forge small pieces, the tonnage achieved is low, and technical accidents are liable to occur. Therefore, in the past this workshop did not make forged parts below 85 mm. But this year the state asked it to produce a great quantity of steel products of various types below 85 mm. Should it take the state's order? The cadres and the masses together studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and recognized that if they one-sidedly ran after output value and tonnage and refused to produce products urgently required by the state but put "profit in command" and "output value in command" like Liu Shao-ch'i, an enterprise owned by the whole people would not serve the interests of the proletriat and all other laboring people and there would be danger of the socialist system of whole-people ownership existing only in name and turning into a system of ownership by departments. The question of whether or not to accept the order was essentially one concerning what line to take in operating the enterprise. This discussion was highly instructive, making it clear that the small forged parts had a great bearing on the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through the grassroot units. The workers and cadres said: "We'll take the order! In fact, any order which benefits the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat!" Today, they take the initiative to approach user units and have taken orders from them amounting to over 1,000 tons of forged parts below 85 mm, more than double the figures of last year. To fulfill this formidable task, the workers "have borne the theory of dictatorship in mind and exerted great efforts to achieve high output in forging." A shift which formerly could only forge 20 bars of steel can now forge more than 80 bars of new steel product, increasing its output by four times. The workers said: "We must criticize the practice of putting tonnage in command, and speedily produce products urgently required by the state!"

The city of steel stretching ten li is aglow with flames in the making of steel, but our hearts are even redder. Today, a visitor to this large mill with ten thousand workers cannot fail to be deeply impressed by the zeal of the workers who have never worked so hard as they do now. "The deeper the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat goes, the better the communist spirit is promoted, the higher the socialist enthusiasm is whipped up, and the higher iron and steel production will rise."

"There is no flat and smooth road in the field of science. Only those are not afraid of climbing steep cliffs can hope to reach the radiant summit." In Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill, the mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is developing penetratingly. Determined to carry it on in a sustained

manner, workers and cadres have further seriously studied Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's relevant writings and stepped up investigation and research in order to make clear the question of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie on the plane of linking theory with practice, fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through every grassroot unit, continue the revolution under the dictatorship through to the end, and win still greater victories in socialist revolution and construction.

- By correspondents and reporters of this journal

* * *

Strengthen the Party Concept

- Notes on studying "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder"

by

Ch'ang Hsüeh-hsin (常学新)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 6, June 18, 1975)

In "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder" written in 1920, Lenin expounded the inter-relationships among leaders, political parties, classes and the masses, pointing out the necessity of strengthening Party leadership for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1920, in the Soviet Union where power was seized not long ago and in the international communist movement, there was a great deal of confusion on the question of Party leadership. The German Communist "left-wingers" at that time, for example, were unable to clarify the relations between Party and classes, and raise the question, "dictatorship of the party or of one class?" In view of this, Lenin sharply criticized the erroneous views setting class against Party. Lenin pointed out: "The masses are divided into classes," "classes are usually led by political parties." In order to seize political power and consolidate it, the proletariat must organize its own political party.

Marx and Engels had stated as early as 1871: "In its struggle against the combined power of propertied classes, the working class can act as a class only when it organizes itself into an independent political party set against all old political parties founded by the propertied classes." Chairman Mao has further pointed out clearly: "The Communist Party is the highest form of organization of the proletariat. The leading role of the proletariat is realized through the leadership of the Communist Party." The working class is the greatest class in human history and assumes the status of the leading class in the proletarian revolution. However, leadership of the working class over other classes must be realized through the leadership of the Communist Party. The Party, representing the interests of the proletariat, is composed of its advanced elements. At the same time, since the Party takes the scientific world outlook, namely Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, as its theoretical basis and has a correct ideological and political line, it is thus able to unite, educate and organize the proletariat and the masses of the people to wage revolutionary struggles and win victories. It is only when it is led by its political party that the working class can turn from "a class in itself" into "a class for itself" and shoulder its great historical mission. History proves: Before the workers formed their own revolutionary political party, though they had already sensed their conflict with factory owners and individual capitalists and had risen to struggle against them, they still had no genuine class consciousness, being still unable to recognize their lofty goals and historical mission. It was only after the birth of the proletarian political party armed with Marxism, and only when it was led and educated by the Party that the proletariat could

comprehend the nature of capitalist society, the relations of exploitation among social classes and its own historical tasks. At this time the proletariat turned from "a class in itself" into "a class for itself."

The history of the workers' movement in our country is a history of its advance from victory to victory under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party with Chairman Mao as its great leader. During the period of socialist revolution, as Lenin said, "the dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle -- bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative -- against the forces and traditions of the old society." To wage such a struggle, it is equally necessary to uphold and strengthen Party leadership. To weaken Party leadership is essentially to weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. Regarding this, we differ in our understanding since we differ in level of consciousness, in the experience of struggle, and in the degree of education by the Party. And because of this, we must persist in long-term study in the course of struggle, have a good grasp of Marxism, genuinely understand the importance of Party leadership, and train ourselves into conscious proletarian fighters.

Just as the leading role of the proletariat must be realized through the leadership of the Communist Party, all revolutionary organizations set up during the proletarian revolution must also develop their work under Party leadership. Whether we can correctly handle the relations between the Party and the other revolutionary organizations, assure Party leadership over various revolutionary organizations, and bring their revolutionary role into play -- that is an important question bearing on whether the Party can really lead in everything and whether the dictatorship of the proletariat can be genuinely consolidated. Lenin attached great importance to strengthening Party leadership over all other revolutionary organizations and to giving full play to their role in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Citing the relations between the Party and the trade unions, he pointed out: "The Party directly relies on trade unions in carrying out its work." He emphasized that trade unions were proletarian organs building the bridge between the vanguards and the masses. Lenin gave extremely serious attention to the role of trade unions, thinking the Party should through them solicit the opinions of the masses, accept their supervision, and maintain close ties with the masses of its own class. At the same time, Lenin also pointed out the problems that might emerge from developing trade unions. In the early period of capitalist growth, the appearance of trade unions was a progressive step of major importance taken by the working class, for it symbolized the progress of the workers from a state of disorganization to the stage of joint struggle. However, by the time the revolutionary political party of the proletariat began to grow, trade unions inevitably further revealed their inherent weaknesses, such as narrow-mindedness of certain guilds, the tendencies to stay away from politics and the deep-rooted habits of sticking to rules of thumb. Lenin particularly pointed out that this was equally unavoidable in the period of proletarian dictatorship. Therefore, it was necessary to further strengthen the ideological and political building of trade unions. Lenin said: "The seizure of political power by the proletariat is another gigantic step taken by this class. At this time the Party has greater

need of using not only old methods but also new methods to educate and lead trade unions. At the same time, it should not forget that trade unions are and for a fairly long time will still be the needed 'communist schools' and preparatory schools for the proletarians to realize their dictatorship,...." Upholding Party leadership over trade unions and bringing their revolutionary role into full play will make it possible for trade unions to better unite with and educate the broad masses of non-Party workers and staff members, so that the dictatorship of the proletariat may be consolidated in every basic-level unit.

Chairman Mao has all along stressed the importance of centralized leadership of the Party, and further developed Lenin's theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. As early as 1929, in the article "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," Chairman Mao sharply criticized the erroneous slogan -- "the command headquarters deal with external matters." He laid it down clearly: "Organizationally, we must strictly practice democratic life under centralized guidance." "All work, after discussion and resolutions passed on it by the Party, should be done through the masses." In 1942, Chairman Mao took charge of drafting the "Decision Concerning Party Leadership in the United, Anti-Japan Base Areas and the Adjustments of Relationships between the Various Organizations." It stated: "The Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, the highest form of proletarian organization. It should lead all other organizations, such as the army, the government and popular bodies." This Decision stressed the need to place the anti-Japan base areas under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, and the need for the local Party committee at the highest level in a region to exercise centralized leadership in various sectors -- the Party, government, army and the people. After our country entered upon the socialist period, Chairman Mao has repeatedly stressed the need to strengthen the Party's centralized leadership, pointing out, "Of the seven sectors -- industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the Party -- it is the Party that exercises overall leadership." "In all departments, the system of leadership by Party committees must be enforced." This means that the relationship between the Party committee and various revolutionary organizations is one between the leader and the led; they are not on the same level, still less the other way round. As to the relationship between the higher and lower levels, the latter must obey the former, and the whole Party must obey its Central Committee. For the whole Party to obey its Central Committee is the highest organizational principle for realizing Party centralized leadership. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country must resolutely obey the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and should fully and unconditionally carry out the Party's line, policies and resolutions.

Lenin pointed out, "A strict Party spirit is the concomitant and outcome of class struggle developed to a high degree. On the other hand, in order to wage class struggle openly and on a wide scale, the strict Party spirit needs to be developed." Even under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes invariably try their best to corrupt our Party members and cadres with bourgeois ideas. For this reason, the proletarian political party must

develop a strict Party spirit internally, practice the strictest centralism and discipline, and resolutely combat all erroneous tendencies to weaken Party leadership and sabotage revolutionary discipline. Meanwhile, we must urge Party members to uphold Party principles and consciously observe Party discipline.

The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must positively strengthen Party leadership, and positively develop the role of all revolutionary organizations so as to develop the present excellent situation of stability and unity, give an impetus to the development of the socialist cause, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. To this end, we must permanently persist in seriously studying Chairman Mao's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, genuinely comprehend Marxism and revisionism, and understand why it is necessary to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and how to do so. Only thus can we constantly strengthen the Party concept, consciously strive to enhance national stability and unity and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and play the role as vanguards and models in struggle.

* * *

Recalling A Few Things About Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih

by

Yeh Po-lo (叶伯乐)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 6, June 18, 1975)

Editor's Note:

April 9, 1975 is the tenth anniversary of Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih's death. Throughout his entire life, Comrade K'o had been always very strict with himself. While he worked in Shanghai, he carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and led the way in combating the attack of the bourgeois style of life against the Party. Today, when the new and old cadres in Shanghai are studying Chairman Mao's instruction on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to look back on some of his deeds will help further enhance our revolutionary spirit in the struggle for the communist cause.

*

How time flies! Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih (柯庆施) has left us for ten full years. Comrade K'o was a good student of Chairman Mao. He spent the last ten years of his militant life in Shanghai. These were ten years of fierce struggle between the two classes and the two lines. "A revolutionary will of iron, a steadfast militant spirit, a glowing class feeling, a strict scientific attitude" -- these words portray his whole life of revolutionary practice. Such is the revolutionary image of his living in the hearts of cadres and the broad masses in Shanghai to this day.

In 1954, Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih came to Shanghai. At that time, a great socialist revolution in the system of ownership was just unfolding under the brilliant guidance of Chairman Mao's general line for the transitional period. Before he came to Shanghai he had warned the comrades around him to be careful in a place like Shanghai where foreigners had left the traces of extravagant life. "If you aren't vigilant, you will lose your head without ever knowing why," he said. Indeed, with the great victory of socialist transformation, the bourgeoisie had become more crafty. Fanning up "fragrant winds and evil mists," they managed to poison the minds of those weak-willed cadres. In early 1957, Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih received a "report" to the effect that a certain deputy secretary of the Party committee of Chunghua Shipyard had been feverishly pursuing the bourgeois style of life. Claiming that he had worked for the "revolution for twenty years," he openly demanded rewards from the Party and shamelessly asked the state to grant him 10,000 yuan as "compensation" or he would "quit th Party and his post." When Comrade K'o heard about this, he was so enraged that he immediately asked the Party paper to publish this report in a special column entitled "Combat

into a big park! We've widened and straightened the roads for you people from Shanghai." Comrade K'o, who was good at feeling the pulse of the masses, was quick to sense a tone of discontent in the old peasant's words. He asked the old peasant again: "How much grain can you reap per mow each year here?" The old peasant replied coolly: "Well, about a thousand catties." At these words, Comrade K'o's heart sank and he rushed back to the city. On the road, a big truck was running toward him. It carried a banner with the words "Hsinhua Bookstore" written on it. Comrade K'o thought they were going to take part in the three-autumn work. But, upon inquiry, he found they were going to "tour the scenic spot." Now he understood why roads were built and land was set aside for the park. But who ordered this? Angrily, he returned to his office and summoned the responsible members of various departments for a meeting. The truth was that some of the responsible members of the Municipal Committee were then spreading this fallacy: "Shanghai has a large population. They have nowhere to go on Sundays. It will be nice to build a scenic spot for everyone to go to." So this was the root of the matter! But Tienshan Lake is more than a hundred li away from Shanghai. Who had the time to go there? Did a "scenic spot" not mean just one more recreation ground for those desperately trying to extend bourgeois right?
To stop this project, Comrade K'o called a meeting at once. With great emotion, he said: "Shanghai suburbs have only 5.4 million mow of farmland! Why do some people still want to use farmland to build a 'scenic spot.' Don't they want to eat? Let them eat tree bark!" Comrade K'o's joy, anger, sadness and happiness were thus tied with the basic interests of the masses of the people.

"The cadres of our Party and state are ordinary workers, not overlords riding roughshod over the people." This is the way it should be both in easy and difficult times. Whenever we think of Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih's spirit of self-denial, we will feel a privileged life is very disgraceful. One day, during the years of temporary difficulties besetting our national economy, when Comrade K'o returned home, he found a responsible member in charge of administrative affairs acting uneasily. When Comrade K'o asked him why he called, the man, smiling, said: "Nothing really. Just dropped in to see you, chief." Comrade K'o had always hated this kind of formality which he thought was very vulgar to begin with. So he asked again: "Just exactly what do you want?" Stammering, the fellow replied: "We're concerned about your health, sir. I've brought something for you to eat. We aren't trying to give you some special privileges, though. You see, this food came from the farm of our office." Comrade K'o, becoming alert at once, asked him sternly: "Why don't you go and care for the masses? Take this back! If you do this again, I won't allow you to come to my place again!" Though this was a small matter, what great moral integrity it showed!

With the development of Shanghai's industrial production, more and more new products were trial produced. At this juncture, an ill wind of "trying out" the new products prevailed among some leading cadres. They "tried" the latest transistor radios, watches, new clothes, and new dishes. In short, they tried by hook or by crook to turn public property into private property. What belonged to the state in name belonged to them in fact, and they grabbed what they could. But the discerning

about? It's all wrong! When someone said that the cadres had suffered much during the rectification campaign and suggested that something should be done to make them feel better, Comrade K'o became even more angry and demanded to know how on earth the rectification campaign could have hurt the cadres of the proletariat. Only the bourgeoisie would feel "hurt"! Through further investigation, it was found that this was indeed an acute struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. True, the great rectification campaign and the anti-Rightist struggle threw the bourgeoisie into dire misery and also greatly ruffled those cadres who had been pursuing the bourgeois style of living. The spirit of rectification was more than they could bear. It was under these circumstances that the capitalist-roaders within the Municipal Party Committee took advantage of Comrade K'o's absence from Shanghai to blow up a gust of "commendation," during which they mobilized the masses to "commend" not only cadres but also bourgeois intellectuals in the name of "promoting the communist spirit." That day, the moment he got off the train, Comrade K'o started an investigation and did not take his breakfast until one o'clock in the afternoon. After that, he immediately called a meeting of the standing committee of the Municipal Party Committee to continue the investigation. The meeting exposed that capitalist-roader within the Municipal Party Committee, checked the "commendation" wind and corrected the direction of the rectification campaign. This showed a deep concern and solicitude for the masses of cadres. Most of them accepted Comrade K'o's criticism and education, went deep among the masses and washed away the dirt from their brains with the sweat of labor. They established close ties with the masses, working day and night with the masses during the great leap forward and joining them in an offensive against the idea of bourgeois right.

It was during the high tide of the great leap forward that rural people's communes appeared in Shanghai off the East China Sea. Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih firmly believed that though Shanghai had a large population and a small area of land, there was hope of developing agriculture if they gave full play to the superiority of the people's communes that are large in size and have a higher degree of public ownership and so long as they worked hard enough. However, a group of people within the Party who had hankered after the bourgeois life style never gave consideration to major matters concerning national planning and the livelihood of the people. Even when the cultivated acreage was small, they wanted to turn the Tienshan Lake into a park for the enjoyment of those bent on extending bourgeois right. That this would mean less land for grain crops was no concern of these overlords.

One Sunday in the late fall of 1960, Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih, who did not rest as usual, set off for Tienshan Lake. It may be mentioned that it had long ago become a practice for him to go to factories and the countryside whenever he was free. It was the "three-autumn season" then. The commune members were busy reaping the bumper rice crop. But, strangely, why did the narrow and winding highway he found not so long ago become suddenly so straight and wide. "How much farmland was used? Is this necessary?" Comrade K'o murmured to himself. Upon arrival at the lake shore, Comrade K'o found an old peasant planting trees, so he went over to talk to him. The old peasant said: "Tienshan Lake is to be turned

into a big park! We've widened and straightened the roads for you people from Shanghai." Comrade K'o, who was good at feeling the pulse of the masses, was quick to sense a tone of discontent in the old peasant's words. He asked the old peasant again: "How much grain can you reap per mow each year here?" The old peasant replied coolly: "Well, about a thousand catties." At these words, Comrade K'o's heart sank and he rushed back to the city. On the road, a big truck was running toward him. It carried a banner with the words "Hsinhua Bookstore" written on it. Comrade K'o thought they were going to take part in the three-autumn work. But, upon inquiry, he found they were going to "tour the scenic spot." Now he understood why roads were built and land was set aside for the park. But who ordered this? Angrily, he returned to his office and summoned the responsible members of various departments for a meeting. The truth was that some of the responsible members of the Municipal Committee were then spreading this fallacy: "Shanghai has a large population. They have nowhere to go on Sundays. It will be nice to build a scenic spot for everyone to go to." So this was the root of the matter! But Tienshan Lake is more than a hundred li away from Shanghai. Who had the time to go there? Did a "scenic spot" not mean just one more recreation ground for those desperately trying to extend bourgeois right?
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Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih was not deceived. When he discovered this, he sent for those concerned and told them: "Do the workers trial produce these new products for just a few of you?" It was undeniable that some of our cadres were dazzled by the fancy world of commodities and exchange through money. Some had even fallen on the verge of revisionism, others had become new bourgeois elements. In his lifetime, Comrade K'o had fought untiringly against such people and spared no effort in educating the masses of cadres. Often he would say: "There's a square hole in the middle of the ancient Chinese copper coin. If you stick your head into the hole, it will lock around your neck and you can't get out again. Take care not to become a money maniae!" He would often remind those cadres who had committed mistakes: "Have you seen donkeys wallowing in the mud? If you don't correct your mistakes at once, you will be just like those donkeys sinking deeper into the mud!" It was a meaningful example and profound criticism, serious, positive and warm. Except for a few incorrigibles, most of our cadres gradually cleansed themselves of mud under the patient guidance of Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih, and followed the masses of workers and peasants by the millions in marching onward in bold strides.

In the winter of 1963, on the eve of the Third Municipal Party Congress, Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih fell ill. Though ill, he still eagerly studied Chairman Mao's latest directives over and over again combining theory with practice, trying to find the words for his speech to be delivered at the congress. On the day the congress opened, though ill, he rushed to the meeting hall and delivered his last speech to the Party members and cadres of Shanghai. This was the famous report entitled: "Strive To Promote the Revolutionization of the Thinking of Cadres and Party Members and Revolutionization of All Work!" It was a most inspiring report. He said: "When we say revolutionization, we mean proletarian, communist thinking, we mean using proletarian, communist thinking to completely subdue bourgeois thinking and all other old ideas and habits." He also said: "Revolutionization of cadres and Party members is the prerequisite to revolutionization of the masses of people." "Bourgeois individualism can only lead to vulgar tastes and is a hotbed of revisionism. It is a major enemy of the revolution and must be resolutely wiped out."

Made public at the crucial moment when the socialist education movement was deepening in both the urban and rural areas of Shanghai, this report was one more serious warning to the Party members and cadres in Shanghai to get rid of the bourgeois life style. It mobilized and inspired the Party members and cadres to launch a fierce attack against the new and old bourgeoisie. The delegates to the congress all felt that Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih's report conveyed the spirit of the congress and led people's mentality to a higher level. At that time, the militant slogan "revolutionize thinking" became the criterion of action among Party members of the whole city. More than ten years have elapsed since, but Comrade K'o's call on cadres and Party members to revolutionize their thinking is still ringing in our ears to this day, loud and clear. Today, many of our comrades, recalling those days, say in unison: "Thanks to Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih's strict demands on us Party members and cadres, we have committed fewer mistakes. If it weren't for him, many of us would not have survived the chopping waves of the class struggle in Shanghai!"

In the spring of 1964 Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih was taken ill again. Not long afterward, he bade farewell to the people of Shanghai. The ten years that followed his death have been more turbulent years. The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius personally launched and led by Chairman Mao have pushed the socialist revolution to greater depth. Nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought and baptized in the battle of the great cultural revolution, many old cadres have renewed their revolutionary youth and large batches of new cadres are growing up vigorously. Today, just as we are making a deeper study of Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and are persistently exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, the militant image of Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih, our revolutionary predecessor who set us an example in restricting bourgeois right, floats past our eyes once more. He forever lives within the revolutionary ranks, urging us to thoroughly cast away the bourgeois life style, criticize the idea of bourgeois right, preserve our revolutionary youth forever, follow the great leader Chairman Mao constantly, and carry through to the end the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat!

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Read An Old "Notice"

by

Chi Ch'ang-hua (季昌华)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 6, June 18, 1975)

The "Notice" before us was drafted by Comrade Chiao Yü-lu (焦裕禄) for the CCP Lankao Hsien Committee in 1963. It clearly called on "Party members and cadres throughout the hsien to observe the ten-point prohibition." (See appendix)

This notice was both ordinary and extraordinary. It was ordinary in that its "ten-point prohibition" was the minimum standard of behavior for every Party member and cadre. It was extraordinary because each point of "prohibition" glittered with the radiance of the proletarian Party spirit, a bold challenge to the idea of bourgeois right. Today, in the midst of the upsurge in studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to re-study this old "Notice" of 20 years ago still warms out hearts.

The "ten-point prohibition" stipulated in the "Notice" drew a clearcut dividing line with the bourgeois life style. For instance, it prohibited the use of state or collective grain and funds or other materials for lavish eating and drinking, for parties and gifts. Anyone who wanted to see a film show should buy his ticket with his own money and not that of commune members. No one was allowed to use state material to exchange for products of production teams to be purchased by the state under a unified distribution plan. No one was allowed, in the name of the collective or of an individual, to ask for unwarranted extra supplies from finance and trade, commercial, supply and marketing and grain departments; and so on. All these prohibitions could be concentrated on one point: no one was allowed to use his authority to seek special privileges or to blow up the "bourgeois" wind. Chairman Mao says: "The cadres of our Party and state are ordinary workers, not overlords riding roughshod over the people." As cadres and Party members, we are servants of the people and should therefore serve the people heart and soul, work selflessly for the public interest, and refrain from seeking private gains. This "ten-point prohibition" fully embodies the firm principle of running the Party in the public interest. The opposite of the "ten-point prohibition" is the "ten-point permission," or "permission" to do anything, allowing the bourgeois life style to spread unchecked. Thus, there is a world of difference between the two words "prohibition" and "permission," a fundamental distinction between the Communist Party and the revolutionary ranks led by it on the one hand and the bureaucratic politicians of the exploiting classes on the other.

Is it too severe to enforce so many prohibitions? Of course, it is. But it has long become a fine tradition of our Party. As early as the harsh years in Chingkangshan, Chairman Mao had clearly set "Do not take a single needle and thread from the masses" one of the three major rules of discipline, and forbade any slightest encroachment on the interests of the masses. During the War of Liberation, PLA men didn't take a single apple from the people when they passed through the apple-producing Chinchou.

Chairman Mao said: "I was deeply moved by this piece of news." He highly praised such strict proletarian revolutionary spirit. Why can't we take a single needle, thread or apple? Because they belong to the people. Did the "ten-point prohibition" set forth by Comrade Chiao Yü-lu conform to this strict proletarian revolutionary spirit? Being a hundred percent clear about caring for, cherishing and safeguarding the interests of the people is precisely an expression of strict proletarian discipline.

Is it good to be strict? Some people say that this "ten-point prohibition" is somewhat inhumane as it interferes with people's daily life from food to seeing film shows, from wedding to shopping. This, too, must be analyzed from the Marxist class point of view. For the proletarian revolutionaries and Party members, it is "reasonable" and "humane" to observe the "ten-point prohibition," to proceed from the interests of the people, and not from the interests of the individual or a small group in doing everything. To a Marxist, it is wholly "unreasonable" and "inhumane" for those who have gained power and rank to place themselves high above others, indulge in comforts, and encroach on the interests of the state and people, the "universal principles" of the exploiting classes. To corrupt our Party members and cadres, the bourgeoisie hopes very much to change "prohibition" into "permission." Comrades: just think of what the consequences would be if this should happen when Party members and cadres are corrupted by bourgeois ideology!

To uphold the "ten-point prohibition" and to place strict demands on Party members and cadres with the Marxist principles of "reason" and "humanity" is an important aspect of stepping up education on Party spirit among Party members. This will not only safeguard the basic interests of the masses, but also take care of Party members and cadres. Although some comrades who lack consciousness may regard such "strictness" as "restraint," it is nevertheless a very good thing, viewed from the plane of combating and preventing revisionism, to "restrain" these comrades so that they will not be corrupted by the bourgeois life style, to help them become conscientious revolutionary fighters.

Is it possible to put this "ten-point prohbition" into effect? Comrade Chiao Yü-lu did it. He set an example in observing every point of "prohibition." You see: Out of concern for his poor health and heavy work, someone offered him fish and meat, but he refused to take them. When someone, seeing his family difficulties, proposed to grant him relief fund, he firmly rejected the offer. And he said "No" to those who wanted to get his children to work in town. Once, when his son went to a theater, the attendant, seeing he was the son of the hsien Party committee secretary, admitted him free. When Comrade Chiao Yü-lu heard about this, he called a family meeting that evening and severely criticized his son: "Why did you ask for this privilege?" The following day, he sent his son back to the theater with twenty cents to pay for his admission. If Comrade Chiao Yü-lu could do this, why couldn't the others? Of course, it was not so easy to abide by this "ten-point prohibition." It required our comrades to seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to reject and criticize the flattery of the idea of bourgeois right, to earnestly change their world outlook.

As the saying goes: To strike iron, one must first have a strong back. To ask others to do something, we must first take the lead in doing it. Only thus can we give play to the infinite power of revolutionary examples. In Lankao hsien Comrade Chiao Yü-lu was the leader of 360,000 people. But he always despised any idea of special privileges. He was, as Engels pointed out, willing to put himself among the ranks of fighters. Chairman Mao has said: "It is very important for Communist Party members to play the role as vanguards and models." This is true indeed. Where there are hard-working Party members and cadres who devote themselves entirely to public interest and lead the way in restricting bourgeois right, there the bourgeois life style is suppressed and the masses "will surely support us, regard the revolution as their own life, as their infinitely glorious banner." The result is that both revolution and production will flourish. The "Notice," drafted by Comrade Chiao Yü-lu, stressed the importance of "Party members and cadres of government organs, schools and business units setting themselves as examples." Since Party members and cadres are the leaders of a unit, a department or a district, their ideas and deeds, including their life style, will directly influence the masses in the unit or area they lead in choosing the road and the style of work. This is an important matter that must not be overlooked. All revolutionary comrades should learn from Comrade Chiao Yü-lu, work hard, discipline themselves strictly, and offer their all to the revolution and to the people.

This "Notice" was written 12 years ago. In China today, after the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, most profound changes have taken place, and higher and stricter revolutionary demands are placed on people. But, the revolutionary spirit reflected in this old "Notice" isn't out of date. The Party's fine style of work is our heirloom. Like many valuable revolutionary relics, this "Notice" is a lively teaching material for class and line struggles, and is our heirloom, too. It is the brilliant historical footprint left by the proletariat in the long march of revolution. Each time when we look back over the footprints of thousands upon thousands of revolutionary martyrs who had taken the revolutionary march, we are greatly educated and inspired. Let's follow the footprints of our martyrs and continue to march onward on the road of continuing the revolution!

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Appendix: Notice Drafted By Comrade Chiao Yü-lu For the CCP Lankao Hsien Committee

The New Year's Day is over, and the Spring Festival is about to come. Over the past year, under the leadership of the Party Central, Provincial and District Committees, the people of our hsien, holding high the three red banners, have persistently carried out all the policies and principles of the Party. Therefore, the situation in our hsien, like that in the whole province and the nation, has been getting better and better year after year. The central task set for the whole Party and the people of our hsien in 1963 is: to seriously and thoroughly carry out the resolutions of the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central

Committee, consolidate the collective economy, develop agricultural production, strive for a general bumper harvest centering on grain and cotton, and improve the situation further. Provided we go all out in our work, this year's situation will surely be better than last year's. In view of the exceedingly favorable situation before us, it is possible to understand why the people of the whole hsien want to pass a happy new year. But we must strengthen Party leadership. While we should enable the masses to spend a happy Spring Festival, we must ask them to work hard and live frugally and prevent waste. We must understand that though the situation in our hsien has greatly changed for the better, there are still enormous difficulties in production and living, and there are still disaster-stricken areas. So we must carry out the guiding principles of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao in building our country and running our communes, homes and all enterprises with industry and frugality, wasting not a single penny, either public or private. Unnecessary spending should be stopped. Necessary spending should be reduced as far as possible. Whatever we do, we must start from production and economy. To this end, the hsien Party committee and people's council specially issue the following notice:

Party members and cadres throughout the hsien must observe the ten-point prohibition:

1. They must not use state or collective grain, money or other materials to indulge in lavish eating and drinking, for parties and gifts.

2. They must not take part in or take the lead in promoting feudal, superstitious activities.

3. They must not gamble.

4. They must not use grain to make wine and sugar, extravagantly and wastefully.

5. They must not use the existing grain and money of production teams or collect grain and money from commune members in staging theatrical or film shows, holding meetings or organizing other recreation activities. Whoever wants to see a theatrical or film show should pay for his ticket; whoever wants to eat should use his own grain, and must not ask the commune members for contributions.

6. Amateur theatrical groups are permitted to perform only in their own villages or teams. They are not allowed to perform elsewhere on a commercial basis. Nor are they allowed to purchase costumes and props in the name of performing during the Spring Festival, thereby indulging in extravagance and waste.

7. Party members and cadres of all state organs, schools and industrial and business units must set the example in spending the new year in a thrifty manner. They are not allowed to hold parties or present gifts. They are not alowed to use state materials to exchange for products of production teams to be purchased by the state according to a unified plan. They are not allowed to use public funds to organize evening

parties. They are not allowed to present theater tickets to each other. Tickets for the first ten front rows should not be sold only to state organs or reserved exclusively for several state organs. They are not allowed to ask for special treatment from commercial departments, cooperatives, etc.

8. Acts of using one's authority to practice corruption and steal materials belonging to the state or production team are resolutely opposed. Subversive activities in which feudal superstitions are used to deceive and exploit the commune members are strictly banned.

9. We must actively develop collective sideline production, increase income and improve the living standard, while opposing the practice of giving up farming in favor of trade and profiteering.

10. No one is permitted, by taking advantage of the Spring Festival, to hold ceremonial wedding parties (marriage is not prohibited) or birthday parties, to let off firecrackers or indulge in other forms of extravagance and waste.

During the Spring Festival, no department or person is allowed, in the name of the collective or an individual, to request unwarranted extra supplies from finance and trade, commercial, supply and marketing and grain departments. Both the leadership and staff of these departments have the right to reject such demands in violation of rules and systems. The staff of finance and trade departments in particular should take the lead in observing the rules, without eating or taking more and without opening the back doors. Every staff member has the right to report all such violations of rules and systems to the hsien Party committee, people's council and control committee all the way up to and including the Party Central Committee.

Light offenders of the above rules are to be subjected to criticism and education, while serious ones will be punished according to law.

This notice is issued to all organs (including the Party and government organs, enterprises, factories, schools, districts and communes). Upon receiving this notice, the various organs should immediately read it out to all cadres and organize them to discuss it so as to guarantee its execution. Upon receipt of this notice by various districts and communes, they may, together with cadres in charge of the socialist education movement, first hold general meetings of Party branches in which to have it read out and discussed so as to urge Party members to take the lead in implementing it. After that, Party members and cadres will directly go to production teams to read it out and organize discussions so that all households learn about it and supervise each other in implementing it.

January 8, 1963

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Political Economy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

by

Kung Hsiao-wen (宮 效 閿)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 6, June 18, 1975)

Political economy is an important basis for the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Studying some political economy and making clear the problems in respect to the socialist relations of production will help us study Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory.

In our country of proletarian dictatorship, we have established the socialist economic foundation. But classes still exist and cannot possibly be abolished within a short time. This state of affairs is related to a given historical stage in the development of production. Chairman Mao points out: "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practices an 8-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in this differs little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." The 8-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money are all dictated by the commodity system; and the existence of the commodity system is, in turn, dictated by the existence of two kinds of socialist public ownership. The fact that these two kinds of public ownership exist simultaneously for a long time in socialist society, in the final analysis, is also determined by a given historical stage in the development of socialist production. So long as the commodity system exists, the bourgeoisie will inevitably exist. Even if all the landlords and capitalists of the older generation have died, new bourgeois elements will still emerge in batches. Lenin said: "The most important problem of modern social life is most directly related to the problem of economics." "The various most important problems, past and present, have been closely related to the problem of economics -- and these problems are rooted in the social relations of production." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol. IV, pp. 33, 36) For socialist society the most important problem is the continued existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of theory analyzes the social basis and the class origin for engendering revisionism, the most important problem of economics. When we clarify the problem of economics, we will also clarify the class relations of socialist society. And clarifying the class relations of socialist society will considerably deepen our understanding that "class struggle will inevitably lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Chairman Mao says: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, as in the 8-grade wage scale, and so on. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the

proletariat. Thus it will be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to rig up the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read some more Leninist-Marxist works." This instruction of Chairman Mao's not only points out the historical necessity of practicing the commodity system in socialist society but also analyzes the economic causes for the existence or re-emergence of the bourgeoisie in socialist society, besides putting forward the line and policies for the proletariat to correctly handle the commodity system. The key to a deep understanding of Chairman Mao's instruction is to know the commodity system, to know commodities, and to know that there is unavoidably a contradiction between use value and value for any commodity. In analyzing the contradictions involving commodities, Engels pointed out: "Products as a form of value embody the capitalist mode of production as a whole, the antagonism between capital and wage labor, and the shoots of the industrial reserve army and of crisis." It is precisely the development of contradictions inherent in commodities that led to the birth of capitalist society. Products produced in socialist society are still commodities combining use value and value. Under given conditions, the development of contradictions inherent in commodities may also lead to the restoration of the capitalist system. The commodity system in the socialist society is mainly built on the foundation of two kinds of socialist public ownership, regulated and dominated by the law of planned development and not entirely regulated by the law of value. Therefore, under the dictatorship of the proletariat the commodity system has been restricted and is different from that under conditions of simple commodity production and capitalist commodity production. However, so far as contradictions inherent in commodities are concerned and so far as the fundamental economic law of commodity production, that is, the law of value, is concerned, commodity production always seeks to free itself from restriction by the dictatorship of the proletariat, and develop spontaneously in the capitalist direction. Under the commodity system, we practice the principle of "exchange between a given amount of labor in one form and a similar amount of labor in another form," namely, the principle of exchange of equivalents. This principle manifests bourgeois right. The producers of commodities usually grab a large quantity of goods and money and climb to the bourgeois position by making use of this bourgeois right which is equal in form but is unequal in fact. In socialist society, such bourgeois right constitutes an important economic basis engendering new bourgeois elements. Those who want to use bourgeois right to develop capitalism will also try by every means to grab great amounts of commodities and money and become new bourgeois elements.

All bourgeois representatives invariably do their best to consolidate, extend and strengthen bourgeois right. Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao trumpeted the "four big freedoms" at one time and "omnipotence" of the law of value at another. They also called for "abolishing" commodity production and the law of value, switching as suddenly to the "Left" as to the Right -- all for the purpose of attempting to let the law of value regulate commodity production, abolish the socialist planned economy, and thus subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Why did some of our cadres in the past follow Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, practice material incentives, and put profit in command? This had something to do with their lack of knowledge of Marxist political economy and commodity.

Profit is a form of transformation of value, and to put profit in command is a variant of the "omnipotence" of the law of value. Material incentives essentially mean commodity and money incentives, reflecting the relations of cash payments among men in capitalist society. Lenin pointed out: "Those who fail to understand and explain communism and commodity economy will not have communism." Both theory and practice show that to learn something about political economy and to get clear about the commodity system is most important.

After the problem of ownership has been basically solved, why is it that new bourgeois elements may still emerge? This is not a fortuitous phenomenon. "By classes we mean some such groups one of which, by virtue of its different position in a given social-economic structure, can possess the labor of another." A small number of new bourgeois elements are taking into their possession more and more commodities and money by making use of and extending bourgeois right in regard to distribution and exchange. By achieving domination over the allocation of material, they also gain control over the allocation of men. Such is the process in which the Soviet Union has been transformed into social-imperialism. There, a handful of bureaucrat monopoly capitalists, having controlled the allocation of the means of production and products, have reduced the broad masses of workers and peasants to wage laborers again. But in our socialist state of proletarian dictatorship, though our condition is fundamentally different from that in the Soviet Union, nevertheless there still remains a problem of leadership. Chairman Mao points out: "I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories, leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers." This case should attract our most serious attention.

Founding the dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean the end of class struggle but a continuation of it in a new form and under new conditions. Bourgeois right exists in varying degrees in all aspects of socialist relations of production, in production, circulation, distribution and consumption. To persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat means to restrict bourgeois right in various spheres and to gradually create the conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. In the historical period of socialism, it is only when we doggedly exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all areas and at all stages of the development of the revolution that we can win the final victory for the proletariat. To this end, we must grasp Marxist political economy as an important theoretical weapon and learn to discern revisionist ideas of all shades and colors.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Let philosophy be freed from the classroom of the philosopher and from books and turned into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses." This is also true of political economy. To get clear about Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, the broad masses and cadres are reading some works on political economy by the teachers of the revolution. This should be greatly encouraged. For many years bourgeois and revisionist departmental economics and vulgar economics have had a large market among some economic workers, who treat political economy simply as a technical

science for the study of production and productive forces. Though their heads are full of production figures (this is not unnecessary), they show a shocking "emptiness of the mind" in regard to the relations of production and class relations. This is very dangerous. Lenin pointed out long ago: "Political economy absolutely does not mean study of 'production,' it means study of people's social relations in production and the social system of production." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol. III, p. 42) "Study of political economy cannot be taken lightly." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol. IV, p. 36) We must, following Lenin's teachings and in the course of studying Marxist political economy, draw a clear line of distinction with bourgeois and revisionist departmental economics and vulgar economics, truly grasp this theoretical weapon -- Marxist political economy, and dedicate ourselves to the fight for the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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Commodity--An Autobiography

by

Ching Ch'ih (景池)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 5, May 18, 1975)

Commodity is my name. We comprise a huge family, our presence is everywhere, all over the world. Everyone of you has to deal with me every day. Isn't this so? What you buy from the markets, such as fish, meat, vegetables, or from the provisions stores like rice and flour, or clothing, shoes and hats from the department stores, are none other than the members of our family. Although you have something to do with me daily, you may not be familiar with my personal history. As people all over China are now engaged in the study of the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, I have become the object of their discussions. My name is frequently mentioned in study sessions held in the factory or classroom or in chats between those who gather together in the street or in the field. I avail myself of the opportunity to give a brief account of my personal history to the readers of Study and Criticism as sort of a self-introduction!

Coming into This World

All things have a beginning. Our commodity family first appeared in the human society about 5,000-7,000 years ago, the exact date regrettably having eluded my memory.

Before I came into being mankind had a history of some millions of years. At that time your forbears used very simple and crude tools such as stones, animal bones and clubs for hunting or gathering fruits on the land belonging to all. They shared the things they obtained by means of hunting and scavenging. The life of people at the time, needless to say, was most difficult. You refer to this historical stage as the primitive communist society. Although I was not yet born to that society, my parents -- products created by people who did labor -- appeared with the appearance of mankind. People often look upon me and my parents as one thing, though the two are actually different in nature. The process of turning product into commodity requires certain conditions!

Toward the end of the primitive society people learned from practice how to use metals to produce tools for making products. This greatly increased the efficiency of production. Apart from providing for their own needs, people found they had small quantities of surplus products. Wild animals began to be tamed and kept, surplus food was stored. What labor had produced showed a surplus. These surplus products were exchanged and this exchange of products provided the first condition for my coming into being. It was at this time that the first major social division of labor in the history of mankind appeared. The nomadic tribes that were separated from the primitive tribes began to devote themselves to raising livestock and hunting, with other tribes mainly taking to farming. The tribes engaged in agriculture required hides and meats while those tending

livestock were in need of food and other farm products. This provided the condition for exchange. To obtain products which some tribes did not have at the time, the chieftains of these tribes took their surplus products to tribal borderland for exchange with other tribes that had brought their own products. This process of exchange generated what is now known as a commodity.

With the continuous development of social productive forces, the second major social division of labor in human society occurred -- the separation of agriculture from the handicraft industry. This completed the condition for bringing me into existence in this world. Agricultural production in a more developed form made it possible for individual production as exemplified in the development of handicrafts such as pottery making, spinning and knitting, bronze smelting. Those engaged in these handicrafts required farm and animal products for their daily consumption and raw materials for continued production. By the same token tribes engaged in farming and animal husbandry needed pottery, hoes, piece-goods and other handicraft products as the means of production and consumption. This made exchange between individual laborers necessary. Following the development of social production, exchange became more and more active. The bustle of trading in market places described in ancient Chinese books is a reflection of the trading activity by means of exchange at that time, which marked the debut of commodity and my commodity family. As a product of individual laborers, commodity has since been used to meet their personal needs or to exchange for other things. This evolution from products brings us into existence in this world.

My Dual Status

My generation from a product does not make me appear any different from the product itself, the difference being in character. A product is directly used to meet people's production or livelihood needs. This is not so with commodity, which is produced not so much to meet personal needs as to exchange for other kinds of commodity in order to meet certain needs. For instance, a peasant in need of clothing must first sell the crops he has grown in exchange for clothing he needs. This gives any member of our family a dual status, referred to in political economy as the "dual nature" of commodity.

My dual status may best be explained by taking clothing as an example. A peasant carrying ten catties of rice to the market exchanged the rice for clothes he needed in winter, because clothes were more useful to him than any other things in the market. This usefulness, in the terminology of political economy, is called "use value." Any member of our family has different "use value." This is one aspect of our status. On the other hand, the tailor who made clothes got ten catties of rice in exchange. The underlying secret is that clothes can be put on and are exchangeable with rice or any other commodity. This illustrates that this particular piece of clothing must have acquired another status, a status that is called "exchange value" in the terminology of political economy. In this particular case, the possession of use and exchange value gives rise to a dual status.

Why is it that clothes have exchange value? Exchanging a piece of clothing for a given amount of rice, say ten catties, indicates that there must be something in common between the two, something which probably has very little to do with their use value. Judging from the physical and chemical attributes of the clothes you wear, they have nothing in common with rice. However, there is one thing in common among countless types of commodities of different use value, clothing or rice included, that is, the commodity in question is the product of labor, the crystallization of men's labor. Just as the tailor makes clothes as differently as the peasant in growing rice, the difference in terms of labor expended is most apparent. Regardless of whether the tailor makes clothes or the peasant grows rice, either case involves the expenditure of brawn or brains. In other words, the crystallization of labor in clothes or rice, in terms of either brawn or brains, is called "value," which is something in common among a great variety of commodities. It is precisely because all kinds of commodities embody the crystallization of men's labor, which gives them something in common, that different types of commodity can be exchanged according to a given proportion. A piece of clothing made by the tailor is exchanged for ten catties of rice produced by the peasant, not five or 15 catties. This is because both have spent the same amount of time in performing labor, making the exchange a success on the basis of their equal value. The interchange between a piece of clothing and ten catties of rice, in other words, is no different from the exchange between the two members of our family. In essence, this is nothing more than the exchange between two persons who have spent the same mount of labor and time for their products. On the surface this kind of exchange has something to do with the relationship between one object and another. Actually it is a reflection of the relationship between men in the exchange of labor with one another.

As far as I am concerned, my dual status must be complete in itself. Without the use value, which is my frame and body, it would be impossible for me to exchange with the other members of our family. Without value which is my soul, I am no longer viewed as commodity. People summarize my dual status in what is called "use value is the material undertaker of value."

Born "Egalitarians"

Any member of our family will not stay long at the home of its master. They are at any time prepared to exchange with another member and serve their new masters. The exchange between a piece of clothing and ten catties of rice, cited in the foregoing paragraphs, is based on their parity in value. Exchange on this basis, in the terminology of political economy, is called "exchange of equivalents."

Speaking of parity in value, it means that our respective masters have spent the same amount of labor and time on us. How is this element figured out? In the case of clothing, for instance, it is not just confined to one place, to one master as its producer. Instead, innumerable individual producers are involved. In the Chang family, producing a piece of clothing may have spent ten hours of labor. In the Li or Wang family, producing the same commodity may have consumed 11 or nine hours

of labor. If these three pieces of clothing are exchanged with another commodity, which should be used as the basis for computation? If it is based on 11 hours, then the peasant will have to give 11 catties of rice in exchange for a piece of clothing. Apparently he may not do such a foolish thing under circumstances where ten catties will do. In the process of production and exchange, commodity producers will very quickly find out that most clothing producers in society at the time require ten hours of labor for the production of a piece of clothing. This time for labor is what economists have often referred to as the "socially required time for labor." Thus in exchanging for ten catties of rice, the value of clothes, regardless of whether it is produced by the Chang family, Li family or Wang family, can only be computed on the basis of the socially required ten hours for labor. This is the egalitarian character of commodity.

In the course of countless exchanges and subject to the law of supply and command, the price of our individual members does not always remain equal. In this sense, it is contrary to our egalitarian nature. But speaking of exchange as a whole, we are equal in price. This is because if one of our members reduces his price to below his value at the time of exchange, then his master may not be happy about increasing his production. Once the output drops, his price at the time of exchange will be raised above his value. In these circumstances his master will be pleased to step up his production. Here, price and value do not arise from the same concept. My price is an expression of my value in terms of money at the time of exchange, fluctuating in price under the influence of the law of supply and demand. The fluctuating market prices appear to be in a mess yet they follow certain laws. Price is invariably subject to the restraint of value and in the long run it cannot be divorced from value. Commodity exchange is invariably parity exchange if it is viewed from the long-range egalitarian trend. This law is called, in the terminology of political economy, "law of value."

Some readers may ask: If the socially required time for labor is used as a yardstick for measuring commodities that have in fact consumed unequal time for labor, then it is equality on the surface but inequality in fact! This is rightly put. The inequalities in our family precisely reflect the inequalities among men! Take clothes as an example. In making the same piece of clothing, why is it that the Chang, Li and Wang families have spent different amount of time for labor? This is because the conditions for production and their levels of techniques differ. However, they have to exchange for other commodities according to the same socially required time for labor. The Li family has used 11 hours but only ten hours are recognized at the time of exchange. The Wang family has employed only nine hours but ten hours are acknowledged at the time of exchange. In such a case the Li family is the loser while the Wang family is the one that gains. Since gain and loss figure in the exchange, ruthless competition that arises makes everybody improve conditions for production, raise technical levels and reduce the time for labor as much as possible. In this competition those commodity produce having superior conditions, such as those clothiers who spend less time than required, are the gainers. On the other hand, those commodity producers

with inferior conditions and using more time than required become the losers. It is obvious to all that what are actually inequalities have been covered up by seeming equalities. This is the beginning of polarization among commodity producers, with the result that the rich become richer and the poor poorer.

The "Pride" of Our Family

The interchange between the members of our family is our life-blood. A verse by ancient Greek poet Homer runs:

> "Since then long-haired Greeks began to sell wine:
> Some people used bronze while others used shining iron,
> Still others used cowhide, with others employing cattle,
> Some others used slaves."

This verse tells us that in Homer's time our family had attained considerable development. Not only wine, bronze, iron, cowhide and cattle became members of our family, even a section among men--slaves--had joined our ranks. However, whether or not this sort of exchange could materialize was determined by whether or not the wine vendors wanted iron, cowhide or other things. If the particular vendor wanted nothing but food, then exchange would not have taken place at all. With the development of production in human society, people's needs multiplied while our family kept expanding. This had occurred more and more frequently, posing a serious threat to our survival. This is because once any member of our family failed to leave his master for a new one through exchange, he would lose his identity as commodity. As the shadow of doom lengthened, we were saved by the appearance in our family of a "tactful and accommodating" partner. He was a favorite of his and all our masters and gained an eminently superior position in our family. Since his appearance he has displayed such magic power that he is able to exchange with any member of our family. He is commonly called money, a measure of value in terms of political economy, or something generally accepted as a medium of exchange.

In different historical periods numerous members of our family had served as a measure of value. In ancient China shells, copper, silks and jade were all used as a medium of exchange. In many African nations shells and ivory played a similar role, as did livestock and hides in ancient Greece, Rome and among the North American Indians. However, in long practice these media of exchange displayed weaknesses such as their immutability and lack of portability. It was then that gold and silver, outstanding members of our family, came to the fore. These metals possessing the superior features of retaining their high value even in small amounts, plus those of portability, ease in safekeeping and immunity from damage, in no time replaced the seashells, livestock and silks as the universally accepted measure of value. As the popular media of exchange, gold and silver have since become the "pampered sons" of our family.

In their "exalted" role gold and silver have at once altered their use value. The metals are used as dental fillings, ornaments

like necklaces, rings and bracelets, or as a medium of exchange with other commodities. They are used as a yardstick for measuring the value of the other members of our family. The use of gold and silver to denote the value of commodities in terms of money also indicates what is commonly called price. Money has thus become an indispensable member of our family in carrying out our normal activity.

In these circumstances money has been used to pay taxes and dues and repay debts, and so forth. Besides, money can be put aside for safekeeping by people who have acquired it. The more money one has put aside, the greater amount of commodities he has. With the development of communications, some members of our family have often been taken from one place to another for purposes of exchange. This has turned money into a worldwide tool for exchanging with other types of commodity. Money is thus the "pride" of our family. Its appearance has contributed immensely to the development of our family as a whole.

Severing the Link with Primitive Commune

Prior to my birth, people of the primitive commune labored and consumed together. There were no classes and exploitation was unknown. After I came into being, things began to change. Our commodity family continued to develop daily, thereby increasingly severing the link with the primitive commune and prompting it to disintegrate.

How did this course occur? First of all we devoured men's souls, filling their minds with the ownership concept. This activity was begun in our stage of generation. Although at that time exchange was confined to tribal dealings, in form the activity was conducted between one tribal chieftain and another. In due course the tribal chieftains gradually became accustomed to regarding themselves as those of the primitive commune who exchanged the products they had owned. Take sheep, a member of our family, as an example. When sheep were not a member of our family, people were content with having mutton for food and sheepskin for wear. However, after people exchanged sheep for a variety of other things, the tribal chieftains after numerous exchanges used the powers vested in them by members of the primitive commune to acquire the sheep and things exchanged with sheep. This is how the shoots of private ownership first appeared.

At the same time we also did something to alter the form of distribution as practiced in the primitive commune. When the Olunchun tribe, a minority nationality in China, was still in the primitive commune stage what had been hunted by the members of the commune was distributed equally among them. Later, Han traders frequently purchased furs and hides from the tribesmen. This developed the exchange activity and turned furs and hides into commodities. Thereupon, furs and hides ceased to be distributed equally among the commune members. At the outset equal distribution was practiced among the hunters, but later what the hunter had acquired belonged to him. The primitive form of equal distribution of products was thus abandoned by our family.

Here, a word about money, the "pride" of our family. In the course of the disintegration of the primitive commune, its impact was rather immense. Money was critical of the value of most things. As a result, many products that were not part of our family took the contagion, absorbing some of our family's traits and joined our ranks. In order to obtain money, commune members, particularly the chieftains holding certain powers, did something to turn a portion of the primitive commune's liquid assets, such as livestock in particular, into their private property. This was soon followed by private ownership of land and other fixed assets. The inequalities in ownership thus made those in possession of fixed and liquid assets rich and those without owning anything the slaves of the rich. The disintegration and collapse of the primitive commune split what was previously a community into groups of property owners, giving rise for the first time in the history of mankind to two major antagonistic classes, the slave-owning class and the slave class; and the advent of the first exploitation system, the slave system. As history turned a new page, our family has since entered a new era.

Growing in the Crevice of the Ancient World

Since my active participation in the disintegration of the primitive commune, the members of our family have expanded rapidly, their fame spreading far and wide. People begin to view us with respect. Some people who have completely separated themselves from production devote themselves to exchanging between our family members. These people are known as merchants. They work hard for the purpose of acquiring us, the more the better. This has made us more active. The Yin period in Chinese history was named after me, the Shang Dynasty. My position and function in this world at that time could therefore be well imagined.

Frankly speaking, I traversed very rough and tortuous roads in the long evolution from the slave society to feudal society. The slave-owning nobility cared only about the luxury and comforts of life. They forced the slaves to build magnificent palaces and underground mansions. Their lavish indulgences were not entirely dependent on exchange. Naturally, to meet his every whim in life, a slave owner was unable to obtain complete satisfaction from his slaves; he had to exchange some of his possessions with others. In the last years of slave society, individual peasants and handicraftsmen began to develop themselves. This provided soil for our family to prosper.

During the initial and middle stages of feudal society the condition of our family showed considerable improvement over that under the rule of slave owners. Our family members in China not only roamed everywhere across the land but also crossed seas and oceans to as far as Persia, India and Rome. The main trade route from China to Persia was called the "Silk Road," being named after a member of our family. However, we did not always have plain sailing everywhere. Feudal disunity and divisions, trade restrictions and custom barriers hampered our freedom of movement. Small peasants were confined to their own plots, they were subjected to feudal exploitation. The handicraftsmen were likewise subjected to the restrictions of feudal privileges and as a result they often went bankrupt. At the same time feudal rule resorted to brute

force and the practice of buying cheap and selling dear hampered our normal development. Consequently, our very existence became precarious. Living in such a society we could only seek development through crevices or loopholes.

As egalitarians we found the fetters of the feudal system unbearable. We were still young and we wanted to do something. We kept struggling and resisting. Taking advantage of the development of social productive forces and other favorable factors, we expanded our territory for survival and development. Our efforts were eventually crowned with success. The gradual dawning of Europe since the 15th century heralded the advent of the only golden period in our history. This phase of my evolution and the historical mission I shouldered will be discussed in the next issue.

(To be continued)

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Correspondence on Bourgeois Right (Continued)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 5, May 18, 1975)

V: Letter from Chou Hsiang-jung to Wu Ch'üan-min

Ch'üan-min:

After the Ch'ing-ming /sweeping ancestors' graves/ Festival, it was all work again. As soon as I got back from the short-course study class on political economy, I plunged myself into intense farm labor. But, in spite of the busy work, we still persisted in studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the political evening school was fully lit when dusk fell. Yesterday, we studied Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao's article "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie," and hotly debated the issue whether bourgeois right existed in the socialist system of collective ownership. This question was raised by a commune member. He said: "I've studied and understood why bourgeois right predominates in respect to distribution in the socialist economic base of our country at present. But with regard to the system of ownership, now that people's communes have been set up in the countryside and are large in size and with a higher degree of public ownership, why do we say bourgeois right still exists?"

As you know, when the poor and lower-middle peasants discuss a problem, they always begin with the facts. This time it was no exception. In discussing whether bourgeois right existed in the socialist system of collective ownership, we understood that "right" was always based on inequality. We proceeded to probe into the actual differences between one production team and another. The first to speak was Aunty Ah Yung, the leader of a scientific experiment group of our production team. She was formerly a member of Pinhai production team No. 7. Five years ago she was married to one of us and moved to our place. She made a comparison between our team and the team of her parents. Both were similar in terms of land acreage and manpower. But Pinhai team No. 7, located along the coast, suffered from heavy salinity in its soil. Since a commune was set up there, they had been working very hard to improve the soil and harness the water. Over the past years, the hundred or more mow of saline fields have been covered with a layer of organic manure over half a foot thick. The soil was improved considerably, and the annual per-mow grain yield last year reached 1,600 catties. This was of course no mean achievement. Now, let's look at our production team. It is situated near the urban area, its soil free from salinity and its supply of manure plentiful. As a result of hard work by the broad masses of commune members over the years, last year's annual per-mow grain yield exceeded over 1,960 catties. Besides, with grain as their staple crop, Pinhai production team No. 7 also grows cotton in between the grain seasons. Calculating on the basis of a per-mow grain yield of 1,600 catties, the output value per mow is only 200 yuan. Apart from grain, we also grow vegetables. Generally, the per-mow yield value of our vegetable gardens exceeds 400 yuan. This difference is reflected in the income of commune members: In Pinhai production team No. 7, each person received an average of 130 yuan last year, and in our team the average income was 182 yuan. Pointing out these differences, Aunty Ah Yung continued: "I've worked in both teams. In my opinion, both teams work very hard, and the team leaders also

basically carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. But owing to different natural conditions, there are also differences in the incomes of the teams and their members. Aren't these differences part of bourgeois right?" At this point, our production team leader, Yung-keng, took over. He said: "Last year the commune had organized us to make a study visit to Pinhai team No. 7. There, I was deeply touched by their sky-rocketing zeal in digging up various potentials in order to breed more pigs and collect more manure. Then I thought of our team. Our conditions are better, and we may get manure from the vegetable market in town." He said expressly: "In my opinion, these differences are part of bourgeois right."

Ch'üan-min, didn't we argue heatedly during the short-course study class on political economy over the issue of whether "differential land rent" still existed in socialist society? Well, I remember Marx explained it this way: "Essentially speaking, differential land rents result only from different rates of productivity on land where an equal amount of capital is invested." (Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. XXV, p. 759) Hearing what the poor and lower-middle peasants have said has strengthened my belief in the views we held during the study class: Since socialist society "has just emerged from capitalist society, it is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges." (Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program") Since at the present stage the people's commune practices "three-level ownership, with the production team as the basis" and takes the production team as the basic accounting unit, the different rates of productivity on different plots of land where an equal amount of capital is invested by various production teams are reflected in income differences as "differential incomes from land," which are scarcely different from the "differential land rents" under the capitalist system. In the evening political school, I expressed this opinion on the basis of Aunty Ah Yung's remarks. The team leader and some commune members agreed with me. They said: "That's right! The differences in wealth between one production team and another due to differences in soil fertility and the amount of the means of production are precisely a manifestation of the fact that bourgeois right in respect to ownership has not been completely abolished."

What should be done about bourgeois right in respect to the system of ownership? The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants think that it should be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat or else the poor team will get poorer and rich one richer, thus creating polarity. But the question is how to restrict it? Should we equalize the poor and the rich and stir up the "communist wind"? The poor and lower-middle peasants said that this was what Liu Shao-ch'i wanted to do in an attempt to undermine the socialist collective economy, and was entirely different from our restriction of bourgeois right. What a poor old peasant in our team, a tough man in fact, said in this regard impressed me most. He said that to restrict bourgeois right and reduce the gaps between poor and rich teams, we must believe that man will conquer Heaven and we should never be slaves of Nature. Tachai was originally a brigade located in a mountainous and arid area, with a host of difficulties. But by persisting in improving the soil every

year, they have continued to increase the cultivated acreage and raise the fertility of the soil. Today, their grain output per mow exceeds 1,100 catties. More has been set aside for collective accumulation, and each commune member has received an annual income of approximately 180 yuan over the last ten years. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai set a brilliant example for us. So long as we all, rich and poor, work hard, we will certainly take the socialist road to common affluence. And common affluence will enable us to restrict bourgeois right effectively.

When that tough old peasant finished, a poor-peasant commune member, Uncle Ah Ch'üan, rose to speak. He said in order to restrict bourgeois right, our production team should firmly set up the concept of the whole with priority given to state planning, and must never just pay attention to the interest of the small collective to the neglect of the interest of the large collective and of the state. To pay attention only to the interest of the small collective is a manifestation of the idea of bourgeois right. Then, he criticized the team leader Yung-keng for always talking about "for the collective" and "responsible to the commune members" and thinking only of the small collective, evidence of the idea of bourgeois right! Yung-keng accepted his advice and made a self-criticism. If it was not getting late we would have carried on the discussion, and we had to go to work the early next morning. So, we adjourned the meeting.

Early this morning, Yung-keng came over to wake me up. He asked me to accompany him to the commune to attend a meeting in which experience in the study of theory was to be exchanged. On our way to the commune, we talked. I said: "The commune members responded very favorably at last night's discussion. They were particularly pleased with your speech. They said that when the team leader straightened out his own thought our collective economy would get better." Yung-keng said with deep feeling: "In the past, I used to think that the team leader should think more about his team. To boost the income from vegetables production, I had more land sown ro the vegetable crops. Besides, my eyes were always fixed on prices. As tomatoes and cauliflowers fetched a high price, I devoted more effort and time to them. Sometimes, when there was a great demand for certain vegetables in the market, I would deliberately hold back our sale for a couple of days and wait for the price to go up so as to make more money for the collective. In the past, I used to believe that 'making money for the collective benefits everybody.' But now, having studied the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, I have come to recognize my mistakes." As we talked, we both saw that as the production team is the basic accounting unit of the commune, it has a certain initiative in arranging production and allocation to commune members. Therefore, if we should take the wrong line and "think only of money while losing sight of the line," we would eventually become a unit of socialist collective ownership in name, but "a collective capitalist organization" in fact. I feel that it is important for Yung-keng to realize this. For, not only are leading cadres of a unit required to guard against corruption and degeneration, they are also required to truly represent the interests of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, to firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and take the socialist road. There can be nothing more important than this in consolidating the socialist collective economy and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the rural areas.

Well, I've said a lot already. I want to hear from you factory workers. Please write.

Revolutionary salutes!

Hsiang-jung

Evening of April 20, 1975

VI. Letter from Wu Ch'uan-min to Chou Hsiang-jung

Hsiang-jung:

I have received your letter. It enlightened me. At present, we are also talking about why the question of ownership has not been completely solved. Here, let me begin with my own observations.

In the past, I used to think that when we said it was necessary to continue to consolidate and perfect the socialist system of ownership, we meant only the collective ownership. Because of its low degree of public ownership, it must gradually pass over to the system of ownership by the whole people. As to the system of ownership by the whole people, it is the highest form of public ownership, and why does it still leave problems to be solved? Recently, after studying Chairman Mao's instructions on the question of theory and Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao's article "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie," I recognized that my views were one-sided and superficial. To determine whether the system of ownership by the whole people is consolidated or not, we cannot just look at the names of state factories and state stores, we must also find out whether a factory or enterprise actually belongs to the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This question of which class owns it not in name but in reality is a question of leadership. As you know, our iron foundry specializes in making parts of various machines and equipment for our brother factories. These include machine-tool bases, gear boxes, unfired cogs, and wrenches. Our products vary in size and weight. Manufacturing large foundry pieces involves high tonnage and high output value; small foundry pieces, low tonnage and low output value accompanied by processing difficulties. Logically, as ours is a state-run factory, we should carry out production according to the unified economic plans of the state regardless of tonnage or output value. However, things are not that simple. Take last year's fourth quarter for example. In order to pursue the output value target one-sidedly, some leading cadres of our plant ordered us to concentrate on high-tonnage and high-output-value foundry pieces that were not badly needed by fraternal plants while neglecting those small, low-tonnage and low-value pieces which were badly needed by them. In 1974, we made all the high-value products included in the output value plan, and even produced those that were contracted for 1975. As a result, if judged by the production statistics chart of our plant, we did pretty well and were commended by the higher-ups. But early this year we organized a "3-in-1" investigation team to interview our users, and problems became apparent. As we failed to fulfill the cooperative tasks on time, some brother factories were unable

to complete the assembly of major products urgently needed by the state. Also, some farm machines could not be delivered to the agricultural front in time. As you can see, one-sided pursuit of output value might seem to benefit one plant but it upset the entire state plan and socialist construction as a whole. Therefore, if a factory owned by the whole people fails to work in the interests of the whole nation and people, its leadership cannot be said to be in the hands of real Marxists and the worker masses.

Socialist ownership by the whole people is ownership of the means of production by the state of proletarian dictatorship on behalf of all laboring people. If the production and management of a whole-people enterprise are not subordinated to the unified plan of the state and if it pursues output-value and tonnage targets one-sidedly, being motivated by profit instead of striving to satisfy the needs of the state and the people, it will deviate from the right course. And in time, we will ask whether it still belongs to the proletariat and the working people.

During our discussion on this problem, we had asked the cadre in charge of production planning in the plant to find out the causes of one-sided pursuit of output value when planning production. At first, he didn't see eye to eye with us, saying: "Output value and tonnage are also essential to the state. Besides, I didn't pocket the money the plant made." Some comrades were stunned by this. How should we look at this problem? The comrades of our theory group believed that this problem should be looked at from the angle of the commodity system presently in force. Owing to the existence of the commodity system, in the course of production and exchange activities of a socialist enterprise, besides being regulated by the laws of planned and proportionate development of socialist economy, the law of value, as the basic law of commodity production still continues to operate. Our enterprise must continue with accounting of output value and profit and conscientiously utilize the law of value in order to accumulate capital for the state and the collective. But if we put output value in the first place and profits in command, we will basically depart from the laws of planned and proportionate development of socialist economy and regulate our production and exchange by the law of value. Continued development of this can place us in great jeopardy. It is the hotbed and soil engendering new bourgeois elements. Comrade Chang Hsiao-ning has shown me the letter he received from Comrade Sang Mei. The letter mentioned how profiteers raised the prices of needles by taking advantage of their shortage in a border region to reap a huge profit! Isn't this digging at the foot of the wall of the socialist economy? Therefore, looking at the problem from the viewpoint of a certain factory, it seems that the money that is made by putting output value in the first place and profit in command does not fall into the pockets of certain individuals of that plant; yet if we look at the problem from the viewpoint of society as a whole, isn't what the cadres of this plant do fostering new bourgeois elements there, directly or indirectly?

Tempered through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the leading group of

our plant is basically good, capable of carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. But owing to their low Marxist level, they may also deviate from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line at times. Yet I think that with the education of the Party and the help of the masses, it won't be difficult for them to correct their mistakes. After studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the comrade in charge of our plant's production plannning has raised his understanding. He said: "One must not put output value in the first place and profit in command! In the past, I didn't study hard enough, so I couldn't distinguish the Marxist line from the revisionist line, the socialist road from the capitalist road. From now on, I must remember this painful lesson." As we see it, even though an enterprise is owned by the whole people, if it deviates in ideological and political line, it is difficult to say that its leadership is already in the hands of real Marxists and the worker masses.

The above are my crude views from study. If you find anything wrong with them, I hope you will criticize them.

Wish you progress!

Ch'Uan-min

April 24, 1975

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